

Message Text

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 17948 01 OF 03 281927Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAA-01 PA-01 SSO-00 SS-15 NSCE-00
DODE-00 IO-13 SP-02 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 INRE-00
NEAE-00 /053 W

-----000709 282032Z /66

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2013

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

USICA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 CAIRO 17948

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (ATHERTON, ALFRED L., JR.)

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR ATHERTON'S PRESS BACKGROUNDER:
SECOND PART

REF: TEL AVIV 9633

1. FOLLOWING IS REMAINDER OF BACKGROUNDER WHICH HAD
NOT BEEN FULLY TRANSCRIBED BEFORE DEPARTURE FROM
TEL AVIV. FIRST PART SENT IN REFTEL.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

Q: MAY I FOLLOW UP BRIEFLY ON THIS. IF SADAT HOLDS OUT
FOR AN APPEAL BY VANCE AS OPPOSED TO YOURSELF IN CAIRO,
WOULD THE SECRETARY OF STATE CONSIDER COMING OUT WITHOUT
A COMMITMENT FOR A MEETING TO TALK TO SADAT ANYHOW?

3. ATHERTON: WELL, THAT'S REALLY THE SAME QUESTION PUT
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ANOTHER WAY. I'M AFRAID MY ANSWER IS GOING TO BE THE
SAME. I THINK THIS IS PROBABLY SOMETHING THAT IS STILL
BEING, THAT WE'RE STILL REFLECTING ON AND THEREFORE
I'D RATHER THAT THAT KIND OF A QUESTION WERE ASKED BACK
IN WASHINGTON WHERE THE DECISIONS ARE BEING MADE.

4. Q: THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS FROM CAIRO THAT THE

EGYPTIANS ARE TRYING TO DEADLOCK THE TALKS IN ORDER TO FORCE THE UNITED STATES TO PRESENT ITS PEACE PLAN. DO YOU SEE ANY POSSIBILITY IN THAT?

5. ATHERTON: NO, I HAVE TO SAY THAT I HAVE NOT SEEN ANY POSSIBILITY. THE WHOLE THRUST OF OUR EXCHANGE WITH THE EGYPTIANS HAS BEEN OUR ABILITY TO BE HELPFUL IN THIS PROCESS--THAT DEPENDS UPON THERE BEING A CONTINUING NEGOTIATING PROCESS INVOLVING THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

6. Q: PRESIDENT SADAT SAID THAT HE WASN'T VERY IMPRESSED WITH THE CHANGES THAT DAYAN HAD INTRODUCED INTO THE PEACE PLAN, NAMELY, THE AGREEMENT TO NEGOTIATE TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE ON THE WEST BANK, AND SOVEREIGNTY AFTER FIVE YEARS. DO YOU FEEL THAT AFTER YOUR MEETINGS WITH DAYAN AND BEGIN, THAT WE HAVE SOMETHING MORE ENCOURAGING IN TERMS OF CLARIFICATION FROM THE ISRAELIS TO BRING TO SADAT WHEN YOU GO TO CAIRO?

7. ATHERTON: I THINK I UNDERSTAND BETTER THE THINKING BEHIND THIS LATEST ISRAELI FORMULATION, AND I WILL BE IN A POSITION TO TRY TO EXPLAIN THIS IN SOME DETAIL, IN SOME DEPTH TO THE EGYPTIANS WHEN I GET THERE.

8. Q: DOES THIS SEEM ENCOURAGING TO YOU?

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9. ATHERTON: WELL, I SAID EARLIER - I SEE THIS AS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. I THINK WE'LL HAVE TO SEE WHERE WE CAN TAKE IT FROM THERE.

10. Q: MR. AMBASSADOR, WHAT'S YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT LED TO THE CHANGE IN ISRAEL'S POLICY IN THE PERIOD OF JUST A FEW WEEKS, WHEN YOU HAVE THE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS POSED BY WASHINGTON, AND NOW THE STATEMENT BY DAYAN IN THE KNESSET? AND ALSO, YOU TALKED ABOUT COMMON GROUND, YOU MENTIONED FIVE YEARS AS ONE ELEMENT, ARE THERE ANY OTHER ELEMENTS OF COMMON GROUND THAT YOU COULD CITE?

11. ATHERTON: ON THE FIRST QUESTION, IF YOU DON'T MIND, AND I GUESS EVEN IF YOU DO, I'D RATHER NOT TRY TO INTERPRET THE POSITIONS, OR EXPLAIN THE POSITIONS OF EITHER OF THE PARTIES. I REALLY WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS MYSELF TO OUR ROLE, OUR APPRECIATION AND OUR ASSESSMENT. AS FAR AS COMMON GROUND GOES, THE FOREIGN MINISTER LISTED SEVERAL ELEMENTS IN HIS SPEECH IN THE KNESSET, AND I THINK THOSE ARE PRETTY COMPLETE, AND PRETTY ACCURATE CATALOGUE OF WHAT WE ALSO SEE AS THE AREAS OF COMMON

GROUND. WITH REGARD TO THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, IT
MIGHT BE USEFUL IF I DESCRIBED IN A WAY WHAT WE SEE AS
THE PRINCIPAL AREA OF DIFFERENCE, WHICH IS NOT GOING TO
BE NEWS, I GUESS TO ANYBODY THAT'S FOLLOWED THIS PROBLEM
IN DETAIL. IT MIGHT BE FORMULATED MORE OR LESS AS
FOLLOWS: THAT THE EGYPTIAN APPROACH, WHICH I THINK
REFLECTS THE GENERAL ARAB APPROACH, IS THAT THERE
SHOULD BE AGREEMENT AT THE OUTSET, THAT AT THE END OF THE
FIVE-YEAR PERIOD THE QUESTION OF THE FINAL STATUS OF THE
WEST BANK AND GAZA WILL BE DETERMINED ON THE BASIS OF
THEIR INTERPRETATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION
242. THE ISRAELI POSITION, AS I UNDERSTAND IT, IS THAT

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2014

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

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THE QUESTION OF THE FINAL STATUS OR SOVEREIGNTY, THIS I
BELIEVE IS THE WORD THAT WAS USED IN THE FOREIGN
MINISTER'S LATEST STATEMENT, IS SOMETHING THAT CAN BE
DISCUSSED AT THE END OF THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, AND THAT
SOLUTION AT THAT TIME IS POSSIBLE. BUT THAT THERE SHOULD
BE NO COMMITMENTS NOW ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS AT THE END OF
THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD OR WITH REGARD TO FINAL STATUS,
AND THAT MEANWHILE THERE SHOULD BE INTRODUCED A REGIME
OF SELF-RULE OR SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE AREA FOR FIVE
YEARS, DURING WHICH BOTH SIDES COULD SEE WHAT KIND OF
NEW RELATIONSHIPS, NEW SITUATIONS EVOLVE TOWARD REACHING
THE POINT OF MAKING A FINAL DECISION. THAT BASICALLY

IS A MEASURE I THINK OF THE PRINCIPAL GAP ON THIS
FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION THAT EXISTS AND HAS EXISTED AND
STILL EXISTS.

12. Q: WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE UNITED STATES IDEA WHICH
YOU SAY MIGHT NOW BE INTRODUCED IN THE NEXT ROUND AS
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EVOLVING FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS, WILL FOCUS ON WHAT WAS
TO HAPPEN ON THE WEST BANK AFTER FIVE YEARS? AND COULD
YOU EVEN SAY THAT THERE IS ALREADY IN WASHINGTON SOME
KIND OF PROJECTION OR BLUEPRINT?

13. ATHERTON: I WOULD SAY VERY FLATLY THERE IS NO
BLUEPRINT. BLUEPRINT IMPLIES SOMETHING THAT'S
IMMUTABLE AND THAT IS SORT OF PRECOOKED AND CLEARLY THAT
IS NOT THE CONCEPT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT. I THINK OUR
IDEAS WOULD HAVE TO DEAL WITH BOTH THE QUESTIONS OF THE
FIVE-YEAR PERIOD AND THE QUESTION OF WHAT HAPPENS AT THE
END OF FIVE YEARS, BECAUSE IN OUR VIEW WE REALLY HAVE TO
DEAL WITH BOTH OF THESE---YOU HAVE TO MAKE SOME MEETING
OF THE MINDS ON BOTH OF THESE ISSUES---BOTH THE IMMEDIATE
ISSUES OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD AND WHAT
CAN BE SAID NOW ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS AT THE END OF FIVE
YEARS, WHICH IS THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE AT DISPUTE. THERE
HAS TO BE SOME MEETING OF MINDS IN BOTH OF THESE RESPECTS
IF THERE'S GOING TO BE PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.
CLEARLY, WE HAVE BEEN GIVING A LOT OF THOUGHT OVER
THESE MONTHS TO THIS, AND WHILE I WOULD SAY WE HAVE NO
BLUEPRINT, CLEARLY WE HAVE BEEN THINKING ABOUT WAYS
IN WHICH WE MIGHT BE HELPFUL. BUT THIS IS ALL SUBJECT
TO EXCHANGES AND CONSULTATIONS WITH EACH SIDE AND
TO THE CONTEXT IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES WHEN THE
NEXT ROUND OF TALKS TAKES PLACE.

14. Q: IN CONNECTION WITH THIS SHIFT OF DAYAN, A LOT
IS BEING MADE OF IT, NOT JUST HERE, THAT IT IS A BIG
DEPARTURE. BUT THERE ARE TWO THINGS IT SEEMS: ONE,
IS IT PREDICATED ON ACCEPTANCE OF BEGIN'S PLAN, AND THEN
THERE'S THE CLAUSE IN THERE ABOUT "DISCUSSED AFTER
FIVE YEARS" WHICH IS A CODE WORD USED HERE. EVERYTHING
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IS NEGOTIABLE, WE'LL DISCUSS ANYTHING. WHY IS IT
REALLY A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION? IS IT MORE
THAN SEMANTICS TO FIND A LOOSER IMAGE HERE NOW AFTER

THIS BIG ROUND? THE AMERICAN QUESTIONS WERE NOT
PREDICATED ON BEGIN'S PLANS, SO CALLED.

15. ATHERTON: I WOULD SAY THAT IT IS MORE THAN
SEMANTICS, THAT'S MY JUDGMENT. IT, IN PART, ADDRESSED
THE QUESTIONS WE ASKED. IT CLEARLY IS NOT A FULL ANSWER
TO THE QUESTIONS WE ASKED, BUT IT DOES SAY THAT THE QUES-
TION OF SOVEREIGNTY CAN BE DISCUSSED, AND THAT A
SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE, AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT YOU HAVE TO
TAKE BOTH THOSE ELEMENTS TOGETHER. NOW, FOR
ITS BEING PREDICATED ON ACCEPTANCE OF THE BEGIN
SELF-RULE PROPOSAL. I WOULD SAY THE EGYPTIANS ALSO
SAY THAT EVERYTHING THEY SAY IS PREDICATED UPON
ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR PROPOSAL. BUT THE FACT IS THAT BOTH
SIDES ARE TALKING, AND BEGAN IN LEADS TO ASK ABOUT
EACH OTHER'S PROPOSALS, AND CERTAINLY ISRAEL HAS SAID
MANY TIMES THAT NOTHING IS PUT FORWARD ON A
TAKE-IT OR LEAVE-IT BASIS, THAT IT'S NEGOTIABLE. AND
I THINK THAT IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT, WHATEVER THE PUBLIC
STATEMENTS MAY INDICATE, THAT IN THE PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS
THE EGYPTIANS ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT THEIR PROPOSAL CANNOT
BE A TAKE-IT OR LEAVE-IT PROPOSAL, BUT SOMETHING
THAT HAS TO BE CONSIDERED AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS,
AND NOT IMMUTABLE AND LOCKED FOREVER IN CONCRETE.

16. Q: THE DESIRABILITY OF REACHING A GENERAL
DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES SEEMS TO FLUCTUATE FROM TIME TO
TIME. COULD YOU GIVE US AN ASSESSMENT OF WHERE IT
STANDS NOW AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE NEGOTIATIONS
OR NOT?

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2015

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

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17. ATHERTON: THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES, REMAINS. IT HAS NOT BEEN UNDER ACTIVE DISCUSSION RECENTLY. IT WAS NOT DISCUSSED AT ALL AT THE LEEDS TALKS BECAUSE IT CAME TO BE APPARENT AFTER MY LAST ROUND OUT HERE IN FEBRUARY/MARCH I GUESS, AND THEN A FOLLOW-ON SHORT VISIT I HAD TO EGYPT IN APRIL, BEFORE DAYAN'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON, IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE PRINCIPLE DEALING WITH THE SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AND WITH WITHDRAWAL STATED IN GENERAL TERMS, WAS NOT GOING TO BE SUFFICIENT UNLESS ONE COULD TALK IN MORE PRECISE TERMS ABOUT WHAT THAT PRINCIPLE MEANT WHEN TRANSLATED INTO WHAT WILL HAPPEN ON THE GROUND WITH RESPECT TO THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AND PALESTINIAN-RELATED ISSUES. AND EVERYBODY AGREED THAT THEREFORE WE HAD TO SHIFT THE FOCUS BUT THE OBJECTIVE IS TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH REGARD TO THE PRINCIPLES GOVERNING A WEST BANK/GAZA SETTLEMENT, IN ORDER TO GET LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BACK TO THE MORE GENERAL DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WHICH REMAINS THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE AS STATED WHEN THESE NEGOTIATIONS FIRST BEGAN REALLY WAY BACK AT ISMAILIA AND SUBSEQUENTLY IN THE JERUSALEM TALKS, AND IN ALL OF THE INDIRECT TALKS THAT HAVE BEEN GOING ON SINCE THEN.

18. Q: PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAS SAID ON THE QUESTION OF LEBANON THAT THE CHRISTIANS ARE ON THE VERGE OF BEING ANNIHILATED BY THE SYRIANS AND HE CALLED ON THE CHRISTIAN WORLD TO TAKE ACTION TO PREVENT THIS. DO YOU AGREE WITH THIS ASSESSMENT, AND WERE YOU ASKED BY (INAUDIBLE...) THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE MORE ACTION WITH REGARD TO THE LEBANESE QUESTION?

19. ATHERTON: I THINK I'LL HAVE TO SIMPLY FINESSE THAT QUESTION. I'LL TELL YOU FRANKLY, I HAVE BEEN FOCUSING SO MUCH AND EXCLUSIVELY ON THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT PROCESS--AS YOU KNOW IN MY NEW POSITION THAT'S MY ONLY OPERATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY--I OBVIOUSLY AM CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS IN LEBANON AND ITS POTENTIAL REPERCUSSIONS FOR THE BROADER SITUATION IN THE AREA, BUT I HAVE NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN THE DISCUSSION. THAT IS TAKING PLACE BETWEEN OUR

AMBASSADOR HERE AND THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, AND WITH THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED IN THEIR OWN CHANNELS. I HAVE CERTAINLY NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN THAT, AND THEREFORE, I DON'T THINK I'M REALLY IN A POSITION TO MAKE A STATEMENT OR A JUDGMENT ON THE LEBANESE-RELATED ISSUES.

20. Q: MR. SECRETARY, ISRAELI OFFICIALS CLAIM OR# THE AREA, AND THAT HE HAS STARTED DOING IT BY EXPELLING THE MILITARY MISSION, AND BY SETTING DEADLINES. WHAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU IS WHETHER YOU SEE A RISE IN TENSION IN THE AREA; AND TWO, WHAT DO YOU SEE HAPPENING IN OCTOBER WHEN SADAT HAS PREDICTED SUCH TERRIBLE CONSEQUENCES:

21. ATHERTON: IN THE SENSE THAT I UNDERSTAND TENSIONS, I WOULD NOT SAY I SEE AN INCREASE IN TENSIONS. CLEARLY THERE HAS BEEN SOME INCREASE IN THE PUBLIC RHETORIC, IF YOU WILL, ABOUT THE PROBLEM. BUT I HAVE NO REASON TO THINK THAT THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF BOTH THE ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENTS AS STATED BY THEM, IS OTHER THAN AS STATED BY THEM; NAMELY, THEY DO WANT TO KEEP THE PROCESS GOING, THEY WANT TO SEE RESULTS, AND ARE MAKING A GENUINE AND SERIOUS EFFORT IN THEIR OWN WAYS TO ACHIEVE THIS END. AS FOR OCTOBER, MY STRONG HOPE IS THAT BY OCTOBER, WE WILL HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE SUFFICIENT MOVEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS THAT THIS WILL NOT BECOME A MOMENT AT WHICH PERHAPS PRESIDENT SADAT WILL FEEL, AS HE HAS SOMETIMES SAID HE MUST, A NEED TO RECONSIDER OR RE-ASSESS HIS POLICIES AND LOOK FOR ALTERNATIVES. SO, I WOULD LIKE TO LET OCTOBER TAKE CARE OF ITSELF AT THIS STAGE, AND NOT REALLY SPECULATE ABOUT A HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION WHICH IT IS OUR HOPE AND VERY FIRM HOPE WON'T COME ABOUT. THANK YOU.EILTS

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED.

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